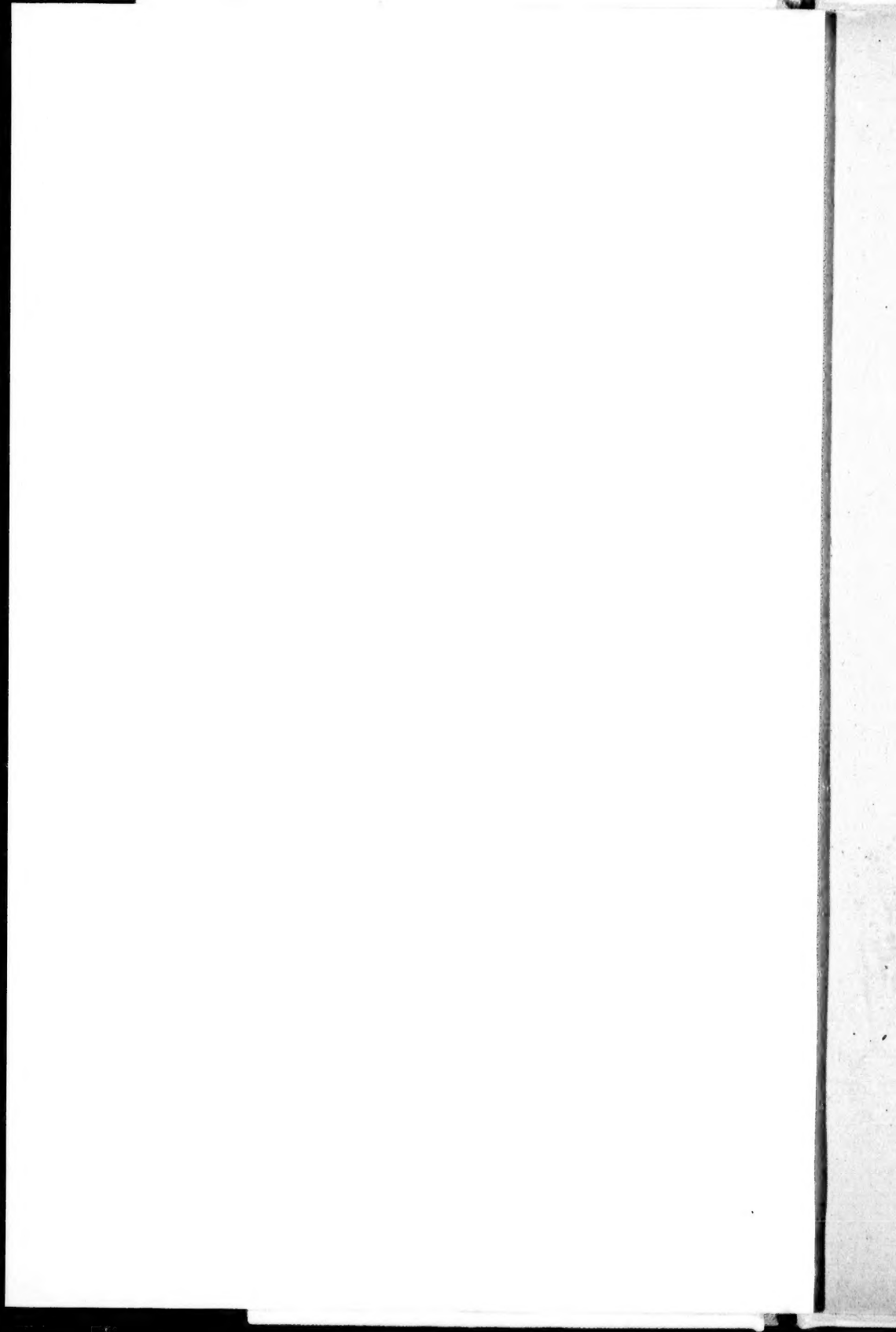




A HISTORY OF THE YEAR 1893

--CANADIAN AFFAIRS--

DOMINION and PRONINCIAL

POLITICS

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A History of the Year 1893



CANADIAN AFFAIRS.

NOTES OF DOMINION AND PROVINCIAL POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE YEAR 1893.



THE Canadian who desires to pass in panoramic review the striking events of the year 1893 naturally turns his attention, first, to those matters of national concern which come under the general heading of politics. Here we touch upon points of vital interest, subjects affecting our lives and our liberties, our property and our civil rights, our industry and our trade. Nothing within the realm of politics can be truthfully said to be unimportant. The relations of the governing to the governed are so close, and produce so striking an effect upon the happiness and prosperity of the people, that they cannot at any time be too carefully or too critically examined. The year 1893 was not placid, from the political point of view, as was some of its predecessors. It opened with a threatening storm, and continued cloudy to the end. The circumstances which combined to produce the disturbance were varied. Apart from the fact that in nearly all of the provinces the leading men on both sides are engaged in preparing for the local general elections, which fall due during 1894, we had in the Dominion Parliament a practically new administration, with Sir John Thompson at its head. Sir John Abbott, the former Premier, had enjoyed a short and successful reign. It was with expressions of regret that the Conservatives had learned that failing health necessitated not only his immediate departure for sunny Italy, but his permanent withdrawal from the leadership of their party and the activities of official

life. Sir John Thompson, the next in command, was a man of great ability and of undoubted probity. To him the sceptre naturally fell. But his acceptance of the Premiership was followed swiftly by evidence that his work, if to be accomplished with satisfaction to himself and with good results to his party, would demand from him the highest qualities of statesmanship.

Prior to his accession, one of the leading Conservatives of the Province of Ontario had shown signs of disaffection. This important politician, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, now severed his connection with the party, and announced himself as independent of all former political associations. The points in respect of which Mr. McCarthy differed from the Government were, first, its treatment of the Manitoba school question; and secondly, its adherence to the tariff policy in its then existing form. Mr. McCarthy maintained that the Manitoba School Act, which abolishes the separate system, should have been promptly allowed; or, to put his position in another and perhaps fairer form, a second appeal against it should not have been entertained. He also declared that the customs duties should be subject to sweeping reductions. On January 5, just when Mr. McCarthy was engaging the attention of the country, an election took place in the County of L'Islet. This county had been Liberal for many years; but in the contest of 1891 it was carried by Mr. Desjardins, a Conservative. When Mr. Desjardins accepted an office under the Quebec Government, the seat was, of course, vacated. Then came the fight which terminated, on the day mentioned, by the election, with a majority of 36, of Mr. J. Israel Tarte. Mr. Tarte, who was now a Liberal,

was also opposed to the policy pursued by the Administration with regard to the Manitoba law; but his complaint differed from that of Mr. McCarthy in that he held that the statute should have been disallowed. While this was the position so far as the difficult school issue was concerned, there was an unusual flurry with reference to the tariff. There had been, for some time, suggestions from within the Conservative party that the scale of duties should be reduced. Mr. O'Brien, of Muskoka; Mr. Cockburn, of Centre Toronto; Mr. Boyd, of Marquette; Mr. Davin, of Assiniboia; Mr. Calvin, of Frontenac; and Mr. McInerney, of Kent, N.B., had all spoken at one time or other in favor of change. Thus the members were faced with the proposition to apply the pruning knife. Besides the school and tariff questions, Sir John had before him the case of those persons who had been accused during the long session of 1891 of electoral offences or of official improprieties. Mr. McGreevy and Mr. Connolly were awaiting trial, and Mr. Arnoldi was in the same position. The atmosphere thus being cloudy, there was a very earnest desire to hear, at the earliest possible opportunity, from the new Premier. The occasion presented itself in Toronto soon after the opening of the new year. Then Sir John Thompson announced, first, with reference to the tariff, that it was the part of the true Conservative to lop the mouldering branches away, and that it was his intention so to treat the subject. He did not regard the tariff, he said, as perfect, and he added: "Both it and our severe customs law require amendment." Turning to the school issue, he asserted that the difficulty had to be met in accordance with the constitution, and in the spirit of toleration, conciliation, and concession. For further information with regard to the tariff, it was necessary to wait until Parliament met; but the school matter was hung up for the time being. The representatives of the minority in Manitoba had asked the Government to consider their case under sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Constitutional Act. In virtue of this clause, as understood by the Premier, and in view of the special law passed in the previous year authorizing the reference of difficult points to the Supreme Court for an opinion, the case had been carried to the highest tribunal for advice.

Parliament met on the 26th of January. It was an early session, and was destined to be short, for the Premier had been honored by the Imperial authorities with a seat on the Board of Arbitration appointed to settle

the Behring Sea difficulty, and he was due in Paris within two months. The Speech from the Throne pointed to the growth of trade and to the sufficiency of the revenue. It also made reference to our relations with the outside world. The trouble with Newfoundland arising out of the retaliatory measure consequent upon Canada's objection to the Bond-Blaine Reciprocity Treaty was



SIR JOHN THOMPSON,
Premier and Minister of Justice.

reported to be in process of arrangement, and the Sault Ste. Marie Canal difficulty was expected shortly to pass away. On the subject of legislation, the Speech promised amendments to the Franchise Act, improvements in the Civil Service Law, and the ballot for the Northwest. The Speech, as is usually the case, touched upon few of the subjects which were to agitate the legislators during its session. In following the labors of Parliament, it may be convenient to deal with minor questions first, and to leave the greater for consideration afterwards. The facts regarding Newfoundland were laid before the House in due course. It appeared from the papers that the Ministers, having met the representatives of the colony at Halifax, arranged there for a cessation of hostilities. Hostilities is unquestionably the right word to use, for the colony had treated our fishermen as foreigners, and had taxed our goods, while in return we had laid a heavy impost upon Newfoundland fish. When discussing a *modus vivendi*, the question of union was broached. But nothing was done definitely in the way of arranging terms. It was reported, however, at St.

John's afterwards that Sir William Whiteway, the Premier, had obtained all the information he needed with respect to confederation. "Whether it be the intention of the Government to take a plebiscite on the question, leave it for an issue at the general election, or exclude it from their programme altogether," said one of the colonial papers, "certain it is that no difficulty now exists in ascertaining the terms Canada is prepared to offer." The same journal added: "The present Government will do nothing without consulting the electorate, and this assurance we give on the authority of the Premier and his lieutenants. Should it be decided to submit the question to the people next spring, it will go before them in the shape of a plebiscite, and they will have the greatest freedom in rendering their verdict." No reference, however, was made to the question in the Newfoundland elections, which took place six months later. The difficulties between Canada and the colony were, however, settled. Of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal trouble, the same report can be made. President Harrison had, in the previous summer, laid an impost upon Canadian shipping passing through that canal, in retaliation for what was termed the discriminatory tolls on the Welland Canal. When the season opened, all suspicion of discrimination on the Welland Canal was removed, and the Sault Ste. Marie Canal was once more opened to our use free of charge. The legislation of the session, owing probably to the haste with which the proceedings had to be brought to a close, was not heavy. As a matter of fact, the bills to modify the Franchise Law and to amend the Civil Service Act were dropped. But a very important alteration was made in the Criminal Law. This change had relation to the law of evidence, which is so amended as to render accused persons compellable witnesses, and to admit to the witness-box the wife or husband of the prisoner. An important experiment was made by this provision, and there were not a few experts who doubted its wisdom. But it is of interest to note that the Imperial House of Commons has, on several occasions, passed a similar bill, and that the Lord Chancellor has had such a measure before the House of Lords. Some years ago accused persons were admitted in assault cases to the witness-box to testify on their own behalf. Many of the legal gentlemen who opposed that step have since concluded that it was wise. It is quite possible that those of us who are doubtful of the value of the more radical change may yet admit that it has its advantage.

Passing from the smaller to the more exciting topics, it may be as well to deal at the outset with the treatment accorded by Parliament to the Manitoba school legislation. On March 6, Mr. Tarte, the newly-elected member for L'Islet, fulfilled the promise made to his constituents that he would bring this subject up in the House. He presented an argument favorable to Federal interference with the local statute, charged the Ministers with having neglected to fulfil a pledge solemnly given that they would veto the law, and concluded with a resolution reading thus: "That this House desires to express its disapproval of the action of the Government in dealing with the Manitoba school question in assuming to be possessed of judicial functions conflicting with their duty as constitutional advisers to the Crown, which assumption is wholly unknown to law, and if now acquiesced in would be entirely subversive of the principle of Ministerial responsibility."

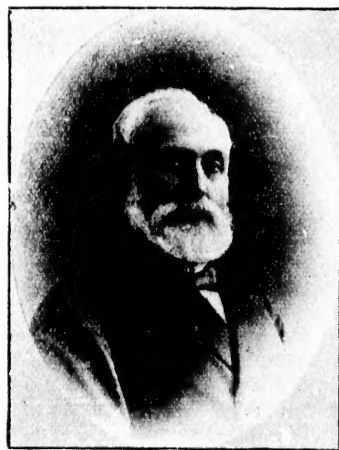


HON. WILFRID LAURIER,
The Liberal Leader.

This motion was cleverly prepared. The Government had received an appeal from Manitoba against the School Act. It, or at least a committee of the Cabinet, had sat in a judicial capacity to consider the petition, and had finally referred the point raised in the appeal as to constitutionality to the Supreme Court for an opinion. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, who opposed Federal intervention, necessarily opposed, also, the sitting of the Cabinet as a court of law, or the assumption by the Government of judicial functions. Mr.

Tarte, who, with others, wanted disallowance, took the same view as that entertained by Mr. McCarthy with reference to the procedure before the Cabinet. Thus, while the two sides were at issue touching the fate that should have been reserved for the disputed bill, they were at one so far as the conduct of the Government in hearing the appeal with reference to it was concerned. It happened that Mr. McCarthy had written a magazine article in which he combated on constitutional grounds the claim of the Cabinet to act as a court. His last sentence stated his position tersely and pointedly. Mr. Tarte borrowed this concluding sentence and used it as his resolution. The debate on the question was short and sharp. After Mr. Tarte had stated his case, Sir John Thompson outlined the Ministerial position. He declared that the right to refer the petition as to the validity of the disputed law to the judges was conferred by the amendment to the Supreme Court Act passed on the suggestion of Mr. Blake in the session of 1892. He further asserted that, having been petitioned to submit the case for consideration, there was nothing for the Government to do but to comply with the request and with the statute. The judicial attitude assumed by the Government was defended on the ground that on other matters, as, for example, appeals under the Railway Act, for or against projected action on the part of any railway company, a committee of the Cabinet sits and adjudicates as a court of law. This latter position was assailed by Mr. McCarthy, his view being that in no case except such as is provided for by statute can the Ministers exercise judicial functions. An important point in Mr. Tarte's speech, however, was his assertion that the Ministers, having at one time promised to disallow, had withdrawn from their undertaking. This allegation was backed by a letter written by His Grace Archbishop Taché to his nephew in Montreal on August 20, 1892. The point in the letter upon which Mr. Tarte relied read thus: "I may tell you that I have learned that the passage of an explanatory law is in contemplation, which would establish in a clear and positive manner that the intention of our legislators in passing the Manitoba Act guaranteed to us our Separate schools. About this intention I have not the shadow of a doubt. The decision of the Privy Council shamefully violates the constitution, and if a remedy is not applied the Federal power will have one more iniquity registered against it. Orders have also been given, I understand, to give us a share of the school lands in Manitoba, which are administered by the

Federal power." His Grace concluded: "Sir John Thompson has pledged himself officially and publicly to give us redress, and others have done the same." It became a question at once as to whether a distinct promise had been given to the Archbishop. Mr. Tarte, for his part, connected Mr. Chapleau's name with the understanding; for that gentleman, being then a Minister, had visited the Archbishop prior to the writing of the letter, and there had followed bye-elections in Quebec, at which the Ministerial candidates pledged themselves to be guided by the bishops in their votes on the burning issue. But Mr. Ouimet maintained that there had been no pledge, and a prolonged correspondence followed between His Grace and Mr. Tarte on the point, in which Mgr. Taché, while adhering to the letter as a repetition by him of reports that had reached his ears, and affirming that he had talked with Mr. Chapleau, declined to endorse the view that a promise had been made. An important feature of the debate was the declaration of Mr. Laurier, the leader of the Opposition, upon the question at issue.



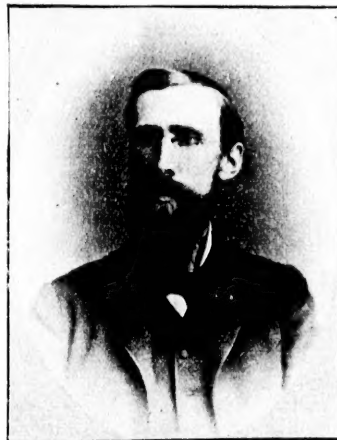
HON. MACKENZIE BOWELL,
Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Mr. Laurier said a complaint had been made that the Public schools of Manitoba were, in reality, a continuation of the "Protestant schools." He had heard this denied, but he had not found in any of the blue books or reports on the subject any denial. "If," said he, "this be indeed true, if under the guise of Public schools the Protestant schools are being continued, and Roman Catholic children are being forced to attend these

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Protestant schools, I say, and let my words be heard by friends and foes over the length and breadth of the land, the strongest case has been made out for interference, and, though my life as a political man depended upon it, I would undertake to say on every platform in Ontario and in Manitoba—yes, and in every lodge room—that the Roman Catholics of Manitoba had been put to the most infamous treatment." After three days of debating the division was taken, and the resolution of Mr. Tarte was defeated by a vote of 120 to 71. The opponents and advocates of disallowance helped to make up the minority. After this the discussion was transferred to the arena beyond the walls of Parliament. Between Archbishop Taché and Mr. Tarte it grew warm; but it was much warmer when Mr. Ouimet and Mr. Tarte came into conflict. The latter gentleman accused Mr. Ouimet of duplicity to Mr. Chapleau on the occasion of the Cabinet change of the year previous, under which Mr. Ouimet became Minister of Public Works. He said that, while Mr. Chapleau was demanding the Ministry of Railways, Mr. Ouimet was under pledge not to take office unless that Minister's request was satisfied; but nevertheless Mr. Ouimet accepted the Public Works portfolio. This treason, as Mr. Tarte termed it, resulted in the resignation of Mr. Chapleau, and his acceptance of the governorship of Quebec; thus imperilling the Manitoba minority. Mr. Ouimet, at a public meeting, denied the whole story, and replied in kind. Meanwhile the Manitoba law was on its way to the Supreme Court. Here at the fall session its validity was argued by Mr. S. H. Blake and Mr. Ewart. The Manitoba Government, opposing the proceedings, declined to be heard. The point at issue is of interest. When the Act was before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, their lordships were asked to determine whether it invaded any of the rights as to education enjoyed by the minority "prior to the union" of Manitoba with Canada. The reply was that there were no state-aided Separate schools before the union; therefore the abolition of such schools was not an invasion of the rights accorded at that time. In the British North America Act, it is set forth that educational privileges conceded "after the union" are protected, and cannot be withdrawn. It was consequently maintained by the representatives of the minority that if there was no protection for the schools in virtue of the claim that they existed "before the union," protection was to be found under the Confederation Act, which sustained the schools if

established "after the union." The point which the Supreme Court is to decide is whether the educational clauses of the British North America Act, containing, as they do, the "after-the-union" provision, really apply to Manitoba as well as to Ontario and Quebec. If they do apply, then, the Manitoba minority claims, the Separate schools must be re-established. It is contended on behalf of Manitoba that the clause of the British North America Act cannot be applicable, because Manitoba has a special charter and a special set of clauses concerning the educational policy. With this issue before the Supreme Court the case is at rest until judgment is given.



HON. G. E. FOSTER,
Minister of Finance.

The next disturbing question was that of the tariff. It has already been pointed out that certain members supporting the Government had evinced a desire for a reduction of the duties, and that Mr. McCarthy had declared for a radical change. Fully supporting Mr. McCarthy was Mr. O'Brien, of Muskoka, who had long been a prominent member of the Conservative party. Mr. McCarthy made his first tariff declaration at Stayner, in his constituency, on January 25. Two points were emphasized by him in laying his project before the people. First, it was asserted that there were combinations which enhance prices; and, next, it was declared that as the Americans are about to lower their tariff it was opportune that we should adopt a similar policy. This clearly meant a reduction all round. But accompanying the proposed reduction was a

suggestion that we discriminate to the extent of ten per cent. in favor of British imports. Mr. McCarthy desired a maximum and a minimum tariff, such as obtains in France and Germany, the minimum to apply to Great Britain and those countries in which we have favored treatment, and the maximum to have force as respects the United States. Should it be supposed that such a scheme would be productive of irritation across the line, the discrimination in favor of British imports was to be effected in another way, as, for instance, by the lowering of the duties upon such goods as we are bound to purchase in England. In either case, however, it was suggested that an intimation be given to the Washington authorities that any concessions made by them would be met by concessions from us. This was a wide departure from the National Policy. It created a prolonged, and, in some cases, an angry discussion. Nor can it be said that it did not find favor in unexpected quarters. The people of the United States had declared for tariff reduction, and low tariff was in the air. When Parliament met, there was universal curiosity touching the position the Government, and indeed the Opposition, which had, in the election of 1891, advocated unrestricted reciprocity, would assume towards Mr. McCarthy's programme. The Ministerial attitude was developed when, on February 13, Mr. Foster delivered the Budget speech. It was on all fours with the policy outlined by the Premier in his Toronto deliverance, in that it declared that the scale of duties was not immutable, and that change might be looked for. The Finance Minister, however, guarded himself by the statement that tariff alterations must be in accordance with the principles underlying the National Policy. It was further stated by the Minister that there would be during the recess a thorough examination into the question by himself, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and the Controllers of Customs and Inland Revenue. This enquiry was to be conducted by personal interviews with the merchants, manufacturers, and farmers, and, as a result of the information thus obtained, a measure of tariff reform was to be brought down in the session of 1894. In the meantime there were to be preliminary decreases in the tariff. The Finance Minister announced a reduction of the duty on binder twine from 25 per cent. to 12½ per cent., and the abolition of certain restrictions on coal oil, estimated at about two cents per gallon. Coal oil may now be imported in bulk in tanks, and the total tax on it is a duty of seven and one-fifth cents pe. gallon. Mr.

Foster also intimated that mining machinery, the free entry of which expired in the following month, would be placed on the free list for three years more. The policy was received by different shades of opinion in different moods. To the Ministerialists and many of the advocates of tariff change within the Conservative ranks, it was satisfactory. It was argued that any tariff alterations ought to be duly preceded by a very thorough



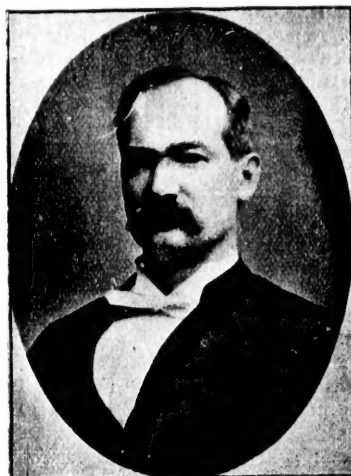
HON. JOHN HAGGART,
Minister of Railways and Canals.

examination. The Opposition and Mr. McCarthy, however, were not convinced. Sir Richard Cartwright made a vigorous attack upon the Government for its delay, and moved a resolution declaring that the tariff bears heavily and unjustly on the great consuming classes of the Dominion, and, therefore, should be thoroughly reformed in the direction of freer trade. The debate was continued for two weeks. While in progress an animated discussion arose between Mr. Charlton and the Ministers, notably the Minister of Finance, with respect to the procedure of the Government when reciprocity was under consideration at Washington in 1891. It was maintained by Mr. Charlton that the delegates could have secured, had they been in earnest, a measure of reciprocity which did not call for discrimination against Great Britain. But Mr. Foster held to the report already made that Mr. Blaine, with whom the negotiations were conducted, required free trade, if an arrangement were reached between Canada

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and the United States, and a common tariff against the world, Great Britain not excepted. There had been previously cross-firing between Mr. Foster, the United States Secretary of State, and Mr. Foster, our Finance Minister, on this very point. The debate was brought to a close on February 28th, when Mr. Laurier made a general attack on the policy of the Government, dwelling particularly upon the results of the tariff, and upon the failure of the Ministers to secure a reciprocity treaty with the United States. He denied emphatically that the Liberal policy implied the adoption of the American tariff by Canada. The Liberals, he said, knew that free trade, such as England enjoyed, would be impracticable for this country for many years to come, but their policy was the imposition of such duties only as were necessary for the purposes of revenue. Mr. Foster made a reply, defending his part in the reciprocity negotiations with the United States, and claiming that those of the Liberal party who had spoken on the subject had misrepresented his position. At the close of his speech he called upon the Conservatives who might be dissatisfied with one or two features of the National Policy to support the Government, as the Liberals had pledged themselves to the destruction of the principle of protection. The vote, which was taken in the early morning of February 29, in the presence of brilliant galleries, stood 126 to 71, leaving the Government's majority 55 on the division. Mr. McCarthy and Mr. O'Brien voted with the Administration and against the amendment proposed by Sir Richard, while Mr. Calvin voted on the Opposition side. Immediately following the division came an amendment by Mr. McCarthy in favor of free binder twine. This motion secured the votes of the Opposition, and of the following Ministerialists: Messrs. O'Brien, Davin, Bryson, and Hodgins. In March Mr. McCarthy came forward with a tariff amendment embodying his views. This amendment is really an excellent summary of his speech, for which reason it is given in full: "That since the introduction of the protective system sufficient time has elapsed for the establishment and development of such manufacturing industries as, under existing conditions, can be successfully carried on in Canada; moreover, many manufacturers, sheltered behind the rampart thus erected, have formed combinations and trusts, which prohibit competition, and create and maintain monopolies. That the existing tariff, defensible only as a protective measure, has proved, in many instances, oppressive and

burdensome to the great mass of the consuming classes, and especially to those engaged in agricultural pursuits, is unfair and unequal in its incidence, and has been productive of discontent, verging on disloyalty, among those who suffer from its injustice. That no sufficient reason has been adduced or exists requiring investigation respecting the foregoing facts, which are notorious, nor justifying delay in the passage of remedial legislation, which is imperative. That, in the opinion of this House, the tariff ought to be at once amended in respect of the matters herein indicated, and also by the substantial reduction of customs



HON. J. A. OUMET,
Minister of Public Works.

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duties in favor of the United Kingdom, in whose markets all Canadian products are admitted duty free, and of those nations which under treaty obligations with Great Britain would be entitled to the same advantages, graduated, however, so as not unnecessarily to prejudice the business of the country, nor to do wrong to those who have imported and paid duties in accordance with its provisions. And this House declares its readiness to make a light reduction in favor of such other portions of the Empire, or of such other foreign countries, especially the United States of America, as are willing to reciprocate in matters of trade with Canada on fair and equitable terms." The debate was not long, the question having been very thoroughly dealt with in the former discussion. It terminated with a vote of 61 for the amendment, against 116 in opposition to it.

The Liberals voted with Mr. McCarthy, and, in addition, there were on his side Messrs. Hodgins and O'Brien. After this there were sporadic attacks upon the tariff; but the Government tided the issue on the promise to enquire and to propose changes in the following session. During the recess Mr. Foster and Mr. Bowell commenced their investigations among the manufacturers, while Messrs. Wallace and Wood heard the farmers in various parts of the country. Mr. Bowell was not able to attend the entire series of meetings, as it was decided that he should undertake a trade mission to Australia, to which reference will be made later on. Mr. Angers, therefore, joined Mr. Foster, and journeyed with him through Manitoba, the Northwest, and British Columbia, collecting opinions. An official report of Mr. Foster's enquiries has not been published; but the Controllers, who met so many farmers, have issued a statement as to the result of their investigations.

Of 62 witnesses who mentioned the coal oil duty particularly, it seems the majority, 36, advised the removal of the present duties altogether; 23 asked for a reduction of the present duty, while leaving sufficient to protect the home industry; three wanted the duty on coal oil left as it is.

In the matter of barbed wire, five would be satisfied with a reduction, while 35 wanted the article free.

Binder twine, 25 out of 26 wanted it free.

Fourteen favored retention of duties on agricultural implements as affording fair protection; twenty-four wanted the duty reduced; and twelve wanted agricultural implements to be made free.

Of seven who spoke of "stoves, nails, and hardware," only one professed himself satisfied with present duties. The others wanted them reduced. Nine asked a reduction in iron and steel; four were satisfied with the duties.

The subject of tea and coffee was brought up by 23, who thought a revenue should be raised on these articles, which are now free. The majority, if not all, of these witnesses were people who don't drink tea or coffee, and their testimony was opposed by 37 others, who wanted tea and coffee left on the free list.

Forty spoke of the duties on "farm products" as a whole. Two would be willing to see them wiped out altogether; 37 stood for the protection afforded by the present tariff; one farmer thought it should be increased.

Taking separate items, 77 favored the present duty on foreign pork, 12 did not care if it were taken off, and eight wanted more protection. Six were free traders, so

far as beef is concerned, while eight delegates urged increased protection, and 41 testified that at least the present duty was necessary to give the farmer adequate protection against American beef.

Fifty-nine urged the benefit of the present duty on corn from the United States, and two wanted it increased. Thirty-two, mostly large stock-raisers, thought they should be allowed to import corn free. Ten said they would agree to free corn from the States, provided our neighbors would take off the duty on Canadian barley. Thus for protection, as against free trade in corn, the opinion stood 71 to 32.

In the matter of grass seeds and hops, all who mentioned these items favored the present or increased duties. Of those who spoke of fruits, five wanted protection increased, 18 were satisfied, and three favored reduction or abolition. Four asked for a specific duty of so much a barrel on imported plums and pears, while two asked that a duty be put on bananas, as they came into competition with home-grown fruits.

Sixty-three delegates volunteered their opinions on the question of free trade.



SIR JOHN CARLING.

Seven were for free trade, fifty-six were opposed to it.

In the opinion of nine delegates, the country could probably get along under direct taxation; thirty-two others, who spoke on the question, opposed direct taxation. Forty-seven out of the fifty-six who spoke on the subject of "Free Trade" had the development of our trade with the United States in view; the other nine thought we

should have freer trade with free-trade England.

Eighty-one witnesses referred in their evidence to the tariff as a whole. Twenty-one of these favored a general reduction of all duties; sixty expressed themselves as satisfied generally with the present tariff, having no complaints or grievances to state concerning its operation.

Meanwhile, discussion on tariff lines proceeded. The Patrons of Industry, a farmers' organization, for example, issued a platform in which they called for a "tariff for revenue only, and so adjusted as to fall, as far as possible, upon the luxuries, and not upon the necessities of life," together with "reciprocal trade on fair and equitable terms with the world." One Ministerial declaration as to the future policy, which fell from Sir Charles Tupper, at Pictou, N.S., on the occasion of a visit he paid to his constituents, was regarded as of especial importance. It was in these words: "We propose a tariff reform that will be as low as possible to produce the revenue absolutely necessary to carry on the public service of the country, and that will give the preference to Canadian workingmen over foreigners, whether mechanics, or manufacturers, or farmers. Where duties are levied, we will levy them on articles that can and ought to be produced in Canada, and we will lighten the duties on articles that we cannot manufacture or produce, and are obliged to import. There are many manufacturing concerns in Canada clamoring for high protection, but under tariff reform we do not expect they will get it; but we will give them all the protection we can, consistent with a revenue tariff and a due protection for the labor employed." The Liberal leaders also made statements during the year. The more important were delivered at a convention held in Ottawa on June 20 and 21. These will be referred to when the history of the gathering is related.

March 21 was a memorable day in Parliament. Probably at no time has feeling run so high within the walls of the Legislature as on that occasion. The cause of the commotion was a resolution brought in by Mr. Dawson, the member for Addington, censuring Mr. N. Clarke Wallace, the Controller of Customs, for a speech he had delivered at Kingston two weeks before at an Orange banquet. Mr. Wallace entered the official category as head of the Customs Department when Sir John Thompson's Administration was formed. Though in charge of a distinct branch of the Government, he was not a member of the Privy Council. In that regard he was in the same

position as Mr. Wood, the Controller of Inland Revenue, and Mr. Curran, the Solicitor-General. But he stood so close to the Cabinet as to render his utterances on all political matters important from the standpoint of party. When in Kingston Mr. Wallace, as chief of the Orange Order, spoke to his assembled brother Orangemen.



SIR OLIVER MOWAT,
Premier of Ontario.

A report of his speech was published in one of the local papers. It appears from this that he referred to the great agitation then in progress in Ulster in opposition to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. Mr. Wallace said that in the old country brethren were threatened with a rule that was antagonistic to freedom there. "What is proposed is not only to shake off their allegiance to Great Britain, the bonds of love that bind them to the Empire, but to put them, forsooth, under an alien and hostile government." "We have their (the Home Rulers') public declaration of what they would do if they obtained power—that they would never cease agitating until the last link that bound Ireland to the British Empire is severed. That is their object to-day. They are trying to take the loyal men with them; but our friends over there say they will never submit. Britain may cast them out; but, if she does so, she has no right to say what may be their future allegiance. Our friends in that land are preparing, and have asserted their unalterable determination never to submit to that Home Rule which Mr. Gladstone and his Government have laid out for them. I

am sure that in their efforts they shall have the sympathy of the Orangemen of Canada—more than sympathy; they shall have our active aid, if active aid is necessary." When the House met on March 21 Mr. Casey, a Liberal member, rose with the report of this speech in his hand, and charged Mr. Wallace with having talked treason against the Queen. He maintained that armed rebellion against Her Majesty was contemplated in Ulster, and that Mr. Wallace, an officer of the Crown in Canada, had not only given countenance to such rebellion, but had offered to lend the rebels active aid from Canada. Mr. Wallace accepted the report of his speech as correct, and declared that he did not take back one word of the statement he had made. But he repudiated the charge of disloyalty, inasmuch as that the position he had taken was similar to that assumed by Lord Salisbury in a speech delivered on May 6, 1892. Lord Salisbury, who was then Premier, declared that he could not accept, in all their width, the doctrines of unrestricted, passive obedience. Parliament, he said, had a right to govern the people of Ulster, but not sell them into slavery. "I do not believe," added Lord Salisbury, "that the people of Ulster have lost their sturdy love of freedom, or their detestation of arbitrary power." Mr. Wallace added that he was as free to oppose Home Rule as others were to support it, and that he opposed it because he feared it pointed to disintegration. Immediately that the Controller took his seat, Mr. Dawson, of Addington, presented a motion of censure. This motion, after relating the circumstances, proceeded to say "that the action of Mr. Wallace in holding out the hope of active aid in resistance to Her Majesty, to those who threaten to levy war in Ireland against Her Majesty, is deserving the severest censure of the House, and, if allowed to pass unnoticed, must place Canada under the scandalous imputation of being disloyal to Her Majesty; and that it is the duty of Parliament to repudiate the utterances of Mr. Wallace, lest the public might be led to the erroneous conclusion that his views are shared in by this body, and endanger the peace, order, and good government throughout Her Majesty's Dominion." An animated and angry debate followed. Mr. Foster, as leader of the House, in Sir John Thompson's absence, opened with a declaration of the Ministerial position on the question. He asserted, first, that every member of Parliament had a right to express his opinions on matters outside of the jurisdiction of Parliament without being called to account by Parliament; and,

secondly, that the statement of Mr. Wallace, for which, however, the Government was not responsible, was not a threat to levy war in Ireland against Her Majesty, or to lend aid to persons levying war against Her Majesty. For these reasons he called upon supporters of the Administration to vote the resolution down, as an assault on free speech and an untruthful representation of what the Controller had said. The House, at the outset,



HON. JOHN COSTIGAN,
Secretary of State.

seemed to view the issue on the basis of old party lines until Mr. McInerney, one of the Ministerial supporters, interpreted the expression "active aid" in the Controller's speech to mean actual warfare, and announced that for this reason he would support the motion. Then Mr. Costigan, the Secretary of State, intimated that he, for his part, would find it necessary to vote for the resolution. This declaration coming from a Minister created consternation, for it divided the Cabinet, and set the Ministerialists who were favorable to Home Rule free to condemn the Controller of Customs. There was a difference of opinion as to whether the votes against the Controller would really, if constituting a majority, cast the Government out of office. On this point Mr. Bergin questioned the leader of the House. The reply he received was that, "if the motion passes, it will not be by the vote of friends of the Government." Mr. Curran, the Solicitor-General, nevertheless, followed Mr. Costigan's example in declaring for the resolution. So, also, did Mr. Bergin, Mr. Davin, Mr. Kenny, Mr. Hearn, and Sir Hector Langevin. At one time it was thought that the French

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Canadian members supporting the Government would become disaffected and join with the Irish Canadians; but this danger was ultimately averted. During the debate bitterness was added to bitterness in consequence of an assertion by Mr. Davin that, at a Ministerial caucus some years earlier, Mr. Wallace, while announcing his intention to vote for the disallowance of the Jesuits Estates Act, had advised his brother Orangemen in the House to declare themselves in the opposite way in order to save the Government. Mr. Wallace pronounced this statement untrue, and called upon others who were at the caucus to corroborate it if they could. Mr. Sproule, Mr. McKay, of Hamilton, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Cochrane, and Mr. Guillet responded, stating that they had heard nothing of the kind said at the caucus in question. Great excitement prevailed when the vote was taken. The figures stood 74 for the resolution and 105 against it, thus giving the Government a majority of 31. The Ministerialists who voted for it were Mr. Costigan (Secretary of State), Mr. Curran (Solicitor-General), Mr. Adams, Mr. Bergin, Mr. Davin, Mr. Hearn, Mr. Kenny, Sir Hector Langevin, Mr. Macdonald (of King's), Mr. Lepine, and Mr. McInerney. On the other hand, Mr. McCarthy and Mr. O'Brien voted with the Ministerialists. The crisis was thus tided over.

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Another matter which created much disturbance was an accusation brought by Mr. Edgar against Sir Adolphe Caron, the Postmaster-General. It will be in the memory of all who follow our political history that in 1891 great excitement reigned in consequence of the charges brought with reference to the conduct of political affairs in the Province of Quebec. As a result of the enquiries then made, Sir Hector Langevin resigned from the Administration, and Mr. Thomas McGreevy, with Mr. N. Connolly, were pursued before the courts and committed for trial. In the following session, that of 1892, Mr. Edgar made the charge that Sir Adolphe Caron had received from the Quebec and Lake St. John Railway Company, and from the Temiscouata Railway Company, corporations subsidized by Parliament, sums of money aggregating \$100,000, which money was used in corrupting the electorate during the contest of 1887. Sir Adolphe Caron characterized the charge as false. The accusation having been discussed for some days, it was determined, on motion of Mr. Bowell, that a commission should be appointed to make enquiry. A commission was chosen during the recess, and when Parliament reassembled its report of the evidence it had taken was presented.

It should be said here that, on the Liberal side, objection was offered to the reference of the question to a commission, on the ground that the right of parliamentary enquiry was being interfered with. On March 22, Mr. Edgar reviewed the testimony, and drew from it the conclusion that \$25,000 had been paid to Sir Adolphe Caron for corrupt purposes out of the Lake St. John bonuses, and that another sum had been paid out of the subsidies to the Temiscouata road. For this reason he moved an amendment to the supply resolution that the facts revealed "should have prevented the subsequent appointment of Sir Adolphe Caron to be an adviser of the Crown, and also render it highly improper that he should continue to hold such office." Mr. Curran made the reply. He deduced from the evidence this argument: Sir Adolphe Caron was, in 1887, one of a committee attending to elections in the Quebec district. Hon. William Ross was a leading Conservative there. This gentleman, who had always promoted the Conservative cause, was three times a millionaire. Sir Adolphe asked him to subscribe to the election fund, and he gave \$25,000. The subscription had



HON. DAVID MILLS.

nothing to do with railway subsidies, and, so far as Sir Adolphe knew and believed, was a personal affair. The receipt of the money was legitimate, and there was nothing to show that it had been corruptly used. On the Opposition side, it was maintained that Hon. Mr. Ross had charged the \$25,000 against Mr. Beemer, the contractor for the construction of the railway, and that this gentleman had really paid the money. Mr. McCarthy

took part in the debate, and declared against Sir Adolphe on the ground that Mr. Ross financed the Lake St. John Railway, and that money should, therefore, not have been accepted from him. On a division the vote stood 69 to 119, the Government thus scoring a majority of 50. Mr. O'Brien and Mr. McCarthy voted with the Opposition.

While Parliament was in session, the news came that Sir Charles Tupper was negotiating a commercial treaty with France. We had been trying to come to terms with the French ever since 1874. Prior to that year, we enjoyed the advantage of the most-favored-nation clause of the British treaty. But in 1873 the French treated us as a separate people, and placed us under the provisions of the general tariff with non-treaty countries, which made their duties upon our products higher than they were before. In the following year Canada increased the duties on French wines, and immediately proceeded to bargain with a view to effecting a return to freer conditions. It was not until 1879 that the business of negotiating really opened. At that time we were very anxious to secure better terms in France for wooden ships, which had previously found a large market there. Originally, the duty on such vessels bought by France was two francs per ton; but the alteration in our status raised the duty, so far as we were concerned, to forty francs, and killed the trade. Canada offered to remove the *ad valorem* duties on French wines if France would take our ships at the old figure and reduce the duties on agricultural implements, tools, cutlery, and fish. But the French Chambers thought the offer was not good enough. Thereupon, the negotiations ended. In 1882 Sir Alexander Galt tried again. He named a list of articles in respect of which a tariff reduction was required by Canada, and promised that we, for our part, would remove the *ad valorem* wine duty, and refrain from levying a transportation tax upon imports not coming directly from France. Once more the negotiations failed. When Sir Charles Tupper became High Commissioner, namely, in 1883, he promptly took up the question where Sir Alexander Galt had left it; but it was not until he had operated for ten years that he secured the bargain of which report was now made. The French, however, before negotiating with Sir Charles, had raised their tariff to a very high figure. Formerly, there was one scale of duties. Under the new arrangement, which came in force in January, 1892, France had a maximum and a minimum tariff. We were

governed by the maximum. When the news came that Sir Charles Tupper was negotiating, great interest was evinced in the outlook. Later on, when the treaty itself arrived, doubts were raised as to its advantages. One objection to it was that it called for a reduction in the wine duties, and thus removed the protection the Canadian wine producer enjoyed not only as against France, but also as against the United States. A second objection was the inclusion in the treaty of a most-favored-nation clause. Under this clause, Canada was required to give France the benefit of all tariff reductions she might make in favor of other countries, while France agreed to give Canada no other reductions than such as might be made by her in the duties upon the articles named in the limited list included in the treaty. The very first objection raised to the bargain came from the Finance Minister on March 13. Mr. Foster then plainly intimated that the convention was not what he had looked for, especially in that it gave little and asked from us a great deal. The Minister cited particularly the most-favored-nation arrangement as unexpected, and concluded by mentioning that the treaty, which was subject to ratifica-



HON. T. M. DALY,
Minister of the Interior.

tion, could be held over for explanation and consideration. The report of Mr. Foster's speech went to London and to Paris, in both of which cities it created much discussion. On the one hand, it was assumed that the Government was bound to sustain the treaty, as it was negotiated under its instructions; on the other, it was maintained that Ministers were free to oppose it, but at the

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expense of the negotiator—the High Commissioner. Sir Charles Tupper himself took the ground, in interviews he had with representatives of the press, that the Government ought to take the responsibility for the treaty or resign. It was reported at this time that the relations between Sir Charles and the Ministers were very much strained, and that Mr. C. H. Tupper, Sir Charles' son, was insisting that the treaty be ratified. Further communications were had with Paris, however, and the upshot was a postponement of the Ministerial decision until the session of 1894. Meanwhile, an examination of the correspondence between the Ministers at Ottawa and Sir Charles in Paris showed that the Government had objected to the favored-nation clause, but that Sir Charles Tupper had signed the treaty just before the objection reached him.

Another great question which agitated Parliament had reference to the sale, early in the year, of certain Nova Scotia coal mining properties to a wealthy syndicate composed largely of citizens of the United States. The Government of Nova Scotia had effected this transfer under terms that it held to be especially advantageous to the province. But some of the Conservatives opposed the transaction. In the Legislature the opposition was futile. The case was, therefore, carried to Ottawa. Here a delegation of members waited upon the Governor-General, and invited the disallowance of the local law for Imperial as well as for local reasons. It was said that the foreigners might fire or flood the mines in time of war, and that thus the coal supply for the navy would be cut off. Lord Stanley referred his interviewers to the Ministers. But important questions had been raised by the appeal to His Excellency, namely: the point as to the right of members to go to the Governor-General direct, and to ask him to set aside a local law, and a second issue as to the power of the Governor-General to deal with such legislation. Mr. Mills introduced the question, and contended that the proper channel of communication was through the Ministers, and that action could not be taken without their advice. Mr. Weldon, who participated in the interview, however, maintained that all subjects had the right to approach Her Majesty's representative by petition, and that it really did not matter whether the petition was verbal or written. The point as to procedure was not determined, but the action of the Government with regard to the legislation was speedily settled. Sir John Thompson asserted that the mines belonged to the province, and that the Federal authorities were not entitled to

interfere with the disposition of them. If the property had been improperly dealt with, it was the privilege of the people of Nova Scotia to say so. The bargain might be bad; but, nevertheless, the Dominion Government could not veto it.



HON. G. W. ROSS,
Minister of Education for Ontario.

Parliament was prorogued on April 1, after the shortest, and, possibly, the most exciting, session on record. When it opened the Government was faced with difficulties and divisions, and while it was in progress new troubles presented themselves. But the Ministers were able to avoid the rocks and to reach the end in safety. Owing to breaks here and there in the Ministerial ranks, the strength of the party varied at different times. It is important to observe how the figures ran. The following record in the divisions tells the story:

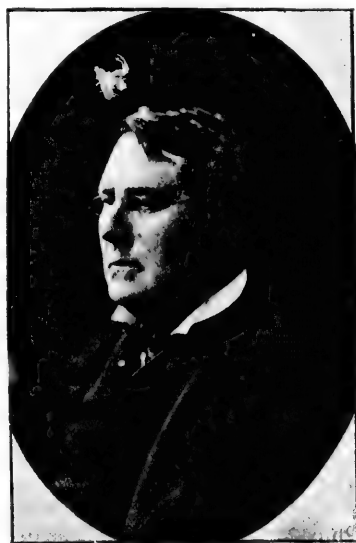
	MINISTERIAL MAJORITY.
On Mr. Laurier's motion to reduce taxation, yeas, 53; nays, 103.....	50
On the proposition of Mr. O'Brien to adjourn a debate, yeas, 99; nays, 58.....	41
On Mr. Mulock's motion for free binder twine, yeas, 51; nays, 91.....	40
On Mr. Edgar's motion <i>re</i> Sir Adolphe Caron, yeas, 69; nays, 119.....	50
On Mr. Dawson's motion censuring Mr. Wallace's speech, yeas, 74; nays, 105..	31
On Mr. Pope's motion for free corn, yeas, 50; nays, 90.....	40
On Mr. Tarte's motion <i>re</i> Manitoba schools, yeas, 71; nays, 121.....	50
On Sir Richard Cartwright's tariff resolution, yeas, 64; nays, 116.....	52
On Mr. McCarthy's tariff resolution, yeas, 72; nays, 126.....	54

Ten days before Parliament prorogued, Sir John Thompson left for Paris to take part in

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the Behring Sea Arbitration that was to open on April 4. The Premier's appointment to a seat in the great international court, as one of the judges, was an honor alike to Canada and to himself. With him on the bench was Lord Hannen, as a representative of Great Britain. The United States was represented by Judge John M. Harlan, of the United States Supreme Court, and Senator John P. Morgan. France appointed the Baron de Courcelles; Italy, the Marquis Visconti Venosta; and Norway and Sweden, Mr. Gregers Gram. The tribunal was august and learned. Canada had in charge of the case, as British agent, Mr. Charles H. Tupper, Minister of Marine. There were also on the British side, Sir Richard Webster, Sir Charles Russell, and Mr. Christopher Robinson, of Toronto. The legal argument was attended to for the United States by Mr. E. J. Phelps, Mr. Couderet, Mr. ex-Secretary of State Foster, and Mr. H. W. Blodgett. France made splendid preparations for the remarkable international tournament, and treated the gentlemen who took part in it, either as judges or counsel, with marked consideration. At the opening in March, Baron de Courcelles was elected president. A brief history of the memorable case, so happily treated and so satisfactorily concluded, is necessary to the understanding of the work of the arbitrators. In 1867 the United States bought Alaska from Russia. One of the chief products of the territory, or rather of its seas, is the fur seal. The right to catch the seal was afterwards sold by the United States to a specially-incorporated company, whose operations were conducted on a series of islands in Behring Sea known as the Pribyloff group. To these islands, it seems, the seals journey every summer, remaining there until the fall. While there they are driven inland, and are killed to the number allowed by law. For some years the business of sealing was carried on by the company alone; but Canadian vessels ultimately entered Behring Sea and prosecuted the industry, not on land, nor on the coast, but on the ocean. On August 1, 1886, a revenue cutter of the United States seized two Canadian vessels in the Behring Sea, one seventy and the other seventy-five miles from land. These were the *Caroline* and the *Thornton*. On the following day the *Onward* was captured, 115 miles from land. The vessels were taken to Sitka and were condemned, and their captains fined for intrusion within United States waters. In 1887, and in 1889, other vessels were taken. The captures became the subjects of diplomatic correspondence. On the part of Great Britain, restitution was claimed for

the seizure of British vessels on the open ocean. The United States Government replied that Behring Sea was a closed sea, the Aleutian Islands closing it in; that the Canadian sealers had no right there; and that, when there, they were violating the law of the United States. Arguments swiftly followed upon arguments, Lord Salisbury leading on one side, and Mr. James G. Blaine, the United States Secretary of State, on the other. At a particular point in the controversy, Mr. Blaine dropped the *mare clausum* theory as untenable, and set up the claim on behalf of the United States to protect seal life in the North Pacific on the ground that the seals were United States property, for the reason that they first saw the light of day in the immediate neighborhood of the Alaskan islands. In brief, the seals, having been born within American



HON. EDWARD BLAKE.

limits, belonged to the United States, no matter in what part of the ocean they might ultimately be found. This point, when presented to Lord Salisbury, was accompanied by a draft treaty practically conceding to the United States all rights over the seals. Whether or not Lord Salisbury was ready to accept the treaty is not certain. But, in all probability, he simply took it into his consideration while he consulted Canada with regard to it. The Dominion objected to the proposed convention, and so afterwards did Lord Salisbury. Thereupon the

on the open Government closed sea, n; that the there; and ting the law ents swiftly d Salisbury . James G. ary of State, point in the ed the *mare* d States to pacific on the nited States ey first saw te neighbor- In brief, the n American

United States charged that just as the Imperial Government was about to capitulate the Canadians, mere colonists that they were, rudely interfered and prevented a wise and friendly settlement. The Imperial Government, however, denied that Canada exceeded her rights, or that England had ever promised to make the concession from which it was said she had, at the instigation of the Dominion, withdrawn. Under the new condition of affairs, a discussion of the issue upon its merits became necessary. Then arose the question as to what really were the rights of the United States in Behring Sea. Such rights as the Americans enjoy must have been derived from Russia with the purchase of Alaska. But the Russian rights were governed by international law, and by treaties made with England and other countries. It was contended, on the British side, that under arrangement with Russia England enjoyed full rights in the sea. This point was about to be sent to arbitration when a difficulty arose. Great Britain had, in 1891, agreed in a friendly way, and pending negotiations, to exclude Canadian vessels from Behring Sea for a year, paying them, of course, the damages they sustained through such exclusion. So long as this arrangement was in force, the United States was slow to come to terms upon the main question. Early in 1892 Mr. Blaine asked for a renewal of the bargain. This Lord Salisbury declined until the actual terms of the arbitration had been reached. Then it happened that the dispute nearly resulted in blows, for the United States declared that Canadian sealers would be seized, and Great Britain replied that British vessels would be sent to protect them. The quarrel, however, was healed by the consent of both countries to the renewal of the temporary agreement on condition that the arbitration should go on at once; and, further, that if the arbitration did not result favorably to the United States, the sealers would be compensated for the suspension of their operations. Great Britain afterwards voted \$100,000 to the Canadian sealers as damages for the suspension of their work; but announced later on that this sum would not be asked of the United States, although the treaty set forth that it would have to be paid. This snag having been avoided, the terms of the arbitration were decided upon. The questions submitted to the arbitrators were these:

1. What exclusive jurisdiction in the Behring Sea, and what exclusive rights in the seal fisheries, had Russia, prior and up to the time of the cession of Alaska to the United States?

2. How far were these claims of jurisdiction conceded by Great Britain?

3. Was the body of water now known as the Behring Sea included in the phrase "Pacific Ocean," as used in the treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia; and what rights, if any, in the Behring Sea were held and exclusively exercised by Russia after said treaty?

4. Did not all the rights of Russia in the treaty between the United States and Russia of March 30, 1867, pass unimpaired to the United States under that treaty?

5. Has the United States any right of protection or property in the fur seals frequenting the islands of the United States



SIR CHARLES H. TUPPER,
Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

in Behring Sea when such seals are found outside the ordinary three-mile limit?

In addition, it was stipulated that, if the arbitrators found that the United States had no exclusive rights outside of the three-mile limit, they should say what concurrent regulations, if any, were necessary for the preservation of the fur seal. The question of damages was not submitted; but it was provided that the arbitrators could say whether or not there had been illegal seizures. Before the arbitrators, the United States proposed to contend that Behring Sea belonged originally to Russia, that England acknowledged Russia's exclusive rights in the seal fisheries, that these rights passed to the United States, and that, therefore, the United States owned the sea and the seals, and that the seizure of the Canadian vessels was justifiable. It turned out after

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the treaty was signed, but before the arbitrators had met, that the claim of the United States, in respect of jurisdiction, rested chiefly on certain Russian documents found at Washington, and translated by a Russian official of the State Department, named Ivan Petroff, for the information of the Government. These documents consisted, for the most part, of proclamations or ukases issued from St. Petersburg, in which exclusive jurisdiction in the Behring Sea was asserted. When the papers were sent forward to Great Britain for examination and reply, they were compared with duplicates there, and it was discovered, to the astonishment not only of the British officials, but also of those of the United States, that every sentence which helped the case of the United States had been forged by Petroff. As a consequence, the most forcible evidence on the United States side had to be withdrawn, and the learned counsel for that country were compelled to base the arguments they addressed to the arbitrators upon the theory advanced by Mr. Blaine, as the lesser branch of his case, that the seals were the property of the United States by birth, and could, therefore, be protected wherever found. The arguments on both sides were long and able. While in progress, Great Britain offered to accept regulations protective of the fur species. On August 15 judgment was given. All the claims of the United States as to exclusive rights were denied, and the seizures were practically declared to have been illegal. But regulations were prescribed. These were, in brief, as follow :

1. No seals are to be taken within a zone of sixty miles of the Pribyloff Islands.

2. No seals are to be taken between May 1 and July 31 north of the 35th degree of latitude.

3. During the period that fur sealing is allowed, sealing vessels only shall be allowed to participate.

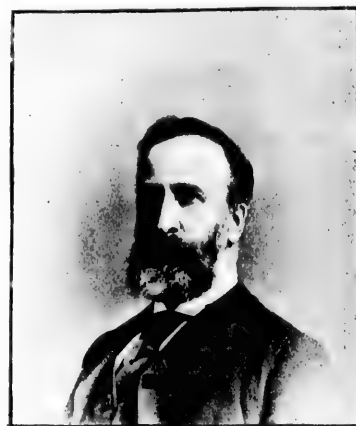
4. Each vessel shall have a special license and a distinguishing flag.

5. Each captain shall keep a log of the date and place of sealing, and particulars of the catch.

6. The use of nets and firearms is forbidden. Shotguns, however, may be used outside of Behring Sea during the season.

The result, in so far as the judgment against the United States claim was concerned, was a victory for Canada. But the proposed regulations modified this triumph, and practically rendered the result a compromise. The close season, however, was shorter than the United States desired, and longer than Great Britain proposed. The

United States, in the draft treaty submitted by Mr. Blaine and rejected through the non-concurrence of Canada, placed the close season at from April 15 to November 10. England, at the arbitration, offered to accept a season extending from September 15 to July 1. The arbitrators determined that the season should extend from May 1 to July 31. Touching the seizures, the arbitrators reported that they had been effected outside of the territorial limits of the United States. But the question of



HON. J. C. PATTERSON,
Minister of Militia.

damages was not dealt with, and this is to be considered later on. The judgment was accepted throughout the world favorably. As marks of distinction for their services in connection with the arbitration, Sir John Thompson was appointed a Privy Councillor of England, in virtue of which he is to be known henceforth as "The Right Honorable"; Mr. Tupper became a Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George; and Mr. Christopher Robinson was elevated to the same order, which honor, however, he declined for personal reasons.

There was a brief cessation of political activity after the close of Parliament; but on June 20 business was resumed by the Liberals, who held a great and enthusiastic convention at Ottawa for the purpose of formulating a programme. About 1,500 delegates attended at Mr. Laurier's call, and Sir Oliver Mowat, the veteran Premier of Ontario, was elected to the chair. Marked unanimity prevailed, and inspiring speeches were delivered by all the leaders. The resolutions adopted by the convention form the platform upon which the Liberals will

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fight the next election. Summarized, the planks are as follow :

1. *The Tariff.*—We declare that the existing tariff has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of the few, and that the highest interests of the people demand its removal ; that the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical, and efficient government ; that it should be so adjusted as to make free, or to bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessities of life, and should be so arranged as to promote free trade with the whole world, more particularly Great Britain and the United States.

2. *Reciprocity.*—The Liberal party is prepared to enter into negotiations with a view to obtaining a fair and liberal treaty, including a well-considered list of manufactured articles.

3. *Corruption.*—The convention deplores the gross corruption in the management and expenditure of the public moneys which for years past has existed under the rule of the Conservative party, and the revelations of which have brought disgrace upon the fair name of Canada.

4. *The Public Debt.*—We cannot but view with alarm the increase of the public debt, and of the controllable annual expenditure, and we demand strict economy in the administration of the government of the country.

5. *Trial of Ministers.*—The convention regret that by the action of Ministers and their supporters in Parliament, in one case in which serious charges were made against a Minister of the Crown, investigation was altogether refused ; while in another case the charges preferred were altered, and then referred to the commission appointed upon the advice of the Ministry, contrary to the well-settled practice of Parliament.

6. *Public Lands.*—In the opinion of this convention the sales of public lands of the Dominion should be to actual settlers only, and not to speculators, upon reasonable terms.

7. *The Franchise Act.*—In the opinion of this convention the Act should be repealed, and we should revert to the provincial franchise.

8. *Redistributions.*—In the formation of electoral divisions, county boundaries should be preserved, and in no case should parts of two counties be put in one electoral division.

9. *The Senate.*—The constitution of the Senate should be so amended as to bring it into harmony with the principles of popular government.

10. *Prohibition.*—It is desirable that the minds of the people should be clearly ascer-

tained on the question of prohibition by means of a Dominion plebiscite.

After a two days' session, the convention rose. Mr. Laurier subsequently made a tour of Ontario, during which he expounded the policy. Following the session of Parliament, and prior to the convention, the Liberals scored a victory in Vaudreuil. The county was taken by Mr. Macmillan (Conservative) by a majority of 85 at a former election. On April 12 Mr. Harwood (Liberal) carried it over Mr. Chevrier by 155. November 22 brought the Liberals another victory. Mr. Hugh J. Macdonald, son of Sir John Macdonald, had resigned his seat for Winnipeg, explaining that he could not give attention to political affairs. The candidates for the vacant seat were Mr. Isaac Campbell (Conservative) and Mr. Joseph Martin (Liberal). A very vigorous campaign was fought. The vote stood : Martin, 2,208 ; Campbell, 1,770. The Liberal majority was thus 438. Great surprise was expressed at the result, owing to the fact that Mr. Macdonald had carried the city in 1891 by a majority of 500.



HONORE MERCIER, M.P.

A new scandal presented itself in June, and called for action. The Government this time did not wait for Parliament to commence the enquiry, but proceeded with the investigation itself by Royal Commission. Briefly given, the facts of the case are these : The Federal authorities decided in the previous fall to reconstruct the railway and passenger bridges passing over the Lachine Canal at Montreal. The estimated cost was \$175,000. Some changes, however, were made in the plans, and these brought the expected price

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up to \$250,000. When the bills came rolling in, they were added up in the Railways and Canals Department, and it was found that \$450,000 had been spent. As a result, the Minister called a halt, and appointed the Commission of Enquiry. The first discovery made by the Commission had reference to the principle upon which the work had been conducted. It had not been let by contract, as is usual; but had been prosecuted by the day labor system. A contractor supplied the labor, and the Government officials utilized it. It was intimated by some of the witnesses that too many men had been employed, and that they had not been all kept diligently at work. The engineers explained, however, that the day labor system had to be resorted to owing to the haste with which the bridges were constructed, for it was essential that traffic and navigation should not be interfered with. Mr. Haggart, according to the documents, was not favorable to the day labor plan. He was guided by his advisers. It was charged further, in the evidence, that there had been waste in the purchases both of stone and lumber. This case awaits the report of the Royal Commissioners. Meanwhile the engineer who conducted the work is under suspension.

While this new scandal was a nine days' wonder, an old scandal was revived in November by the trial of Mr. Thomas McGreevy and Mr. N. Connolly, at Ottawa, on the charge of conspiracy to defraud the Government in connection with the Quebec Harbor contracts. This trial was the culmination of what are known as the Tarte charges. It ought to have taken place earlier; but it was delayed through the absence of witnesses. One of these men, Owen E. Murphy, was the principal figure, and indeed the villain, in the case. He had escaped to New York to avoid punishment for a fraud he had perpetrated in Quebec, and there, when his evidence was sought, he suddenly died. Murphy having gone to his reward, the trial was proceeded with without him. The offence charged against Mr. McGreevy and Mr. Connolly is thus described: Large and valuable contracts were to be awarded for work to be performed in Quebec Harbor. A dock was to be built, and a great deal of dredging was required. As the Dominion Government was advancing the money for all this enterprise, the Department of Public Works saw to the letting of tenders, thus relieving the Harbor Commissioners of some of their responsibilities. Mr. McGreevy was a Harbor Commissioner, and, besides, a member of Parliament and a friend of the Minister of

Public Works. It was charged by Mr. Tarte that Mr. McGreevy, although ostensibly protecting the public interest as a Harbor Commissioner and a member, really worked with and for the contractors, getting money from them for elections, and, by way of his brother Robert, sharing personally in their profits. This was the chief count in the indictment laid before Parliament in the memorable season of 1891, and it is the basis of the offence of conspiracy for which Mr. McGreevy and Mr. Connolly, a member of the contracting firm, were tried. The jury found Messrs. McGreevy and Connolly guilty, and they were sentenced to one year's imprisonment each in the county jail.



SIR ADOLPHE CARON,
Postmaster-General.

Late in the year several important events, from the Federal point of view, took place. The New Brunswick Governorship, long held by Sir Leonard Tilley, was on September 24 given to Hon. John Boyd. The appointment was very popular; but Mr. Boyd did not live long to enjoy it, for he died suddenly on December 3. He was succeeded by Mr. Justice Frazer. On November 3, Mr. C. H. Mackintosh was appointed Governor of the Northwest in succession to Governor Royal. He had sat in the Commons for Ottawa. An election being necessary to fill the vacant seat, Sir James Grant was nominated by the Conservatives, and was elected by acclamation. On October 4 Mr. J. V. Ellis, of St. John, was sent to jail for thirty days for contempt of court. He had severely criticized, in his paper, the decisions of one of the judges in the celebrated Queen's County election case.

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His comments, made five years ago, were condemned at the time by the court; but he appealed without success, and, on appearing for sentence, was committed to jail for the term mentioned. Objection was taken to the treatment he received, on the ground that contempt of court was an antiquated offence, and that, anyway, he ought to have had the benefit of a trial by jury. Sir Alex. T. Galt died on September 22; and Sir John Abbott, the ex-Premier, died on October 31. Thus two respected statesmen passed away within a few weeks of each other. Late in the fall Mr. Bowell went to Australia on a trade mission, the hope being that he would be able to interest the people of the Antipodes in commerce with Canada, and possibly arrange for a reciprocal treaty. Mr. Bowell was well received, and a convention of colonial delegates was proposed as a result of his visit. On his return, he dropped in at Honolulu. Some of the papers in the United States gave the visit international significance, and credited Mr. Bowell with an attempt to annex Hawaii to Canada. But the Minister was entirely innocent of any project of that kind. The year closed in Dominion politics with a discussion of the Northwest Territories school law, which places the Separate schools on a basis similar to that occupied by the Public schools. The friends of Separate schools had appealed for the disallowance of the ordinance. We have to wait until 1894 is well advanced before we know what the fate of the law is to be.

Having reviewed the larger questions which have arisen in the Federal arena, it is but natural to turn to the points that have disturbed the provinces. But, first, it is to be remembered that there are questions in which the Dominion and the provinces are jointly concerned. These, for the most part, have to do with the finances. One of the issues came before a Board of Arbitrators composed of Chancellor Boyd, for Ontario; Justice Casault, for Quebec; and Justice Burbidge, for the Dominion, on April 18, at Ottawa. The question involved was the outstanding accounts between Ontario and Quebec, and the Federal authorities. At Confederation, the two provinces were authorized to divide certain of the assets of Upper Canada between them; but a difference of opinion arose touching the proportion which belonged to each. This matter was referred to arbitration, and was settled in part. The undecided issues, which include the distribution of money held by Canada for these provinces, the interest that should be allowed by the Dominion upon this sum, together with the claims of

the Dominion upon the provinces arising out of payments to Indians within these provinces, remained to be determined, and the new Board of Arbitration was appointed to adjudicate upon them. At the first sitting the point was argued as to the interest the Dominion ought to pay upon the funds it holds in trust. On the part of the Federal authorities, simple interest alone was proposed; whereas the provinces contended for compound interest. The arbitrators examined the case closely, and, on November 2, decided that simple interest was the proper thing. Some other points were reported upon, as, for example, the proportion of the Library Fund that was to go to each province; but larger issues, involving vast sums, and the claims of the provinces, with the counterclaims of the Dominion, were reserved for future consideration. While this matter was before the arbitrators, a claim for \$650,000 from the Province of Nova Scotia was receiving the attention of the Government. It appears that the province subsidized a railway known as the Eastern Extension to the tune of \$650,000. After the road was built Nova Scotia took it over, and subsequently sold it to the Federal



HON. W. B. IVES,
President of the Privy Council.

authorities to become a branch of the Intercolonial. The price agreed upon was the cost, less the amount of the subsidy. Nova Scotia maintains that the road, being a part of the Intercolonial, which is a Government railway, ought to be entirely paid for by Canada, and for this reason it applied for the payment to it out of the Federal exchequer of the subsidy it had given. The administration at Ottawa decided in October that the

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bargain would have to be observed, as the railway was in operation, and the province was getting what it had paid for. Thus the appeal for \$650,000 was set aside.

Being in the East, it may be convenient at this time, seeing that provincial affairs are next in the order of consideration, to deal with local political matters there. There was an early session of the Nova Scotia House to ratify the coal mining contract made by the Government, to which attention has already been directed. The contract gives to a wealthy syndicate rights in several mines at a royalty higher than that which was formerly paid. Opposition was offered to the project, but it ultimately passed. In New Brunswick the Legislature met as a single House. There had long been agitation against the Legislative Council as useless and expensive. The Legislature abolished this body in the year before, and thus the Assembly was able to meet without it. Abolition was a response to the general cry against over-government. An educational difficulty arose during the New Brunswick session. All the schools are, according to law, non-denominational; but it was charged that in Bathurst, Gloucester County, they were being conducted by the Roman Catholic majority as religious schools. A petition signed by 10,000 people was presented to the Legislature, calling for enquiry. Some objection was taken to an investigation, but during the recess a Royal Commission was appointed and enquiry proceeded. No report had been published at the end of the year. In Prince Edward Island, as well as in New Brunswick, the Upper House was successfully attacked. Formerly there was a Legislative Council elected on the basis of a property qualification, and a House of Assembly elected on the basis of manhood suffrage. Now there is but one chamber, consisting of fifteen Councilmen elected on a reduced property qualification (\$348), and fifteen Assemblymen elected by manhood suffrage, all sitting together, with equal rights and powers. A general election took place on the island on December 14. There was a novel feature in the fight. The two parties agreed that no money or other material consideration should be paid or given to any voter. Nor was there to be any hiring for special service on election day, except of livery horses. During the contest the Conservative Opposition took exception to the double plan under which the representatives were elected, and charged that the constituencies had been gerrymandered. A question was also raised as to the conduct of the land office, and the finances were

attacked. The struggle was desperate, but Mr. Peters, the Liberal Premier, secured twenty-four out of thirty seats, and thus had a majority of eighteen. In British Columbia there was a spicy session early in the year. The Government proposed to undertake the construction of new Parliamentary and Departmental buildings at Victoria. To this project some of the members from the mainland took exception, on the ground that it was the intention to "anchor" the capital at Victoria, although the population was growing on the mainland, and the capital ought to



MR. W. R. MEREDITH,
Leader of the Ontario Opposition.

be there. The petition was interwoven with a demand from the mainland for larger representation, the granting of which, however, was postponed. In view of the postponement, and of the determination to proceed with the new buildings, there came a cry for separation, Vancouver Island to form one province, and the mainland another. After the prorogation of the Legislature political affairs became dull, and for the moment the agitation was forgotten. The Manitoba Legislature did not present any very serious issue; but the Assembly of the Northwest, sitting in January, threw a disputed question into the arena. The constitution of the Northwest calls for Separate schools, and such had been provided for. But the Assembly proceeded to legislate with regard to these institutions. Its ordinance brought them all under one inspectorate and one Board of Control, and required that they should have certificated teachers, and text-books uniform with those used in the Public schools, and that religious

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instruction should be given only after hours. This was a wide departure from the original system. His Lordship Bishop Grandin petitioned the Federal authorities to deal with this ordinance, and, at the end of the year, the point was still, so far as public report was concerned, undecided. The case resembles that known as the Manitoba Schools case, in that it raises the question as to whether the Dominion Government can touch a local enactment dealing with the educational question.

The Quebec Legislature sat during November and December. A very long session was held. Necessarily, the financial question occupied a great deal of attention. In order to balance the accounts, the Legislature, at the previous session, had laid taxes upon all engaged in business, and in the professions. These taxes so increased the revenue as to make both ends meet. Early in the session appeals were received, calling for their abandonment; the Government, however, could not see its way clear to their removal. It therefore changed them somewhat, and promised that in time they would be first reduced, and then struck off altogether. A strong objection entered against them was based on the circumstance that they fell upon the cities and towns, and that the rural districts escaped scot free. The Government, however, was not prepared to levy, as proposed, a rate upon all farming property. One of the principal sources of agitation in the House was a series of Government bills providing for the transfer of the Beauport Lunatic Asylum to the Sisters of Charity. In Quebec the insane are farmed out. One of the asylums, that at Beauport, has been a private institution, the Government paying to the owners \$132 per annum for every patient. The contract expired early in the year, and, at once, new arrangements were entered into. The Sisters sought, or were asked, to take the contract and to buy the asylum. They agreed to maintain patients at \$100 per annum. Then came the question of the purchase of the building. The proprietors wanted \$600,000, and the Sisters were willing to give \$275,000. A valuation was made, and the valuers estimated the property as worth all the way from \$311,000 to \$700,000. After prolonged negotiations the sum of \$425,000 was agreed upon, with the condition that it was to be paid at the rate of \$18,000 annually for sixty years, the province to take over the property and meet the instalments after the end of ten years, if the Sisters were not willing to proceed with the purchase. Opposition was offered to the transaction on two grounds. First, it was said that the province should

abandon the farming-out system altogether, and attend to the insane directly itself. Then it was declared that the terms were exorbitant, and that they were really endorsed by the province, which in the end might have to pay. The contract passed the House, but one of the bills, that relating to the provincial guarantee for the purchase, was rejected in the Legislative Council. It was thought that the Government would be in difficulties owing to its defeat in the Upper House; but as the main feature of the bargain, namely, the letting of the contract for the care of the insane,



COL. O'BRIEN, M.P.

was endorsed, it was stated that the other part of the arrangement did not matter much.

While referring to the Legislature of Quebec, it may be opportune to point to the fact that religious troubles prevailed in the province during the greater part of the year. These were the results of criticisms of what is known as the policy of the church. There had been in 1892 very free expressions of opinion relating to many points, as, for example, the relations of the priesthood to the people. One paper which took a leading part in the controversy was a weekly known as *The Canada Revue*. This journal, with *The Echo*, of Two Mountains, was placed under the ban by His Grace Archbishop Fabre. His Grace forbade the faithful to read the paper, to print it, buy it, or write for it. The proprietor claimed that he had been injured by this action on the part of the Archbishop, and entered suit for damages. Shortly afterwards a jubilee of Mgr. Fabre's consecration was held, and at

this celebration the lawsuit was condemned by leading men. More recently, on September 25, His Grace submitted to examination, in which he maintained that he had the right to warn his flock against papers that it would be to their disadvantage to read. The suit was in charge of Mr. Rudolphe Laflamme, Q.C. The situation was strained once more towards the end of the year, when it was reported that Mr. Papineau, the son of the principal figure in the event of 1837, had determined to withdraw from the Roman Catholic Church and join the Presbyterians. Mr. Papineau lived at Monte Bello, on the Ottawa River, and in the Diocese of Ottawa, which is presided over by His Grace Archbishop Duhamel. At his village there was a church which the ecclesiastical authorities had condemned in order that a new edifice might be erected in its place. Mr. Papineau opposed the building of a new church, his opinion being that the old one was satisfactory, and that the people could not afford to pay the tax the enterprise would involve. But, aside from that, he declared that his children were Presbyterian, and that he would join them. The withdrawal created much excitement, and led to a heated discussion of fabrique assessments, and of the duties of the people in respect of the propositions of the clergy.

Turning to affairs political in Ontario, it is found that February brought with it a local contest in Toronto. Mr. Bigelow (Liberal), who had carried the city the summer before, had died, and a new election was necessary. The candidates were Dr. G. S. Ryerson (Conservative) and Dr. Ogden (Liberal). Voting took place on the 29th of the month. The result was a victory for Dr. Ryerson, the figures being: Ryerson, 9,662; Ogden, 7,039; majority for Ryerson, 623. The session, however, did not open until April 20. Pomp and circumstance attended the proceedings, for the legislators were meeting for the first time in their new building, and Ontario was commencing her second century of parliamentary government. The building had been in course of construction since 1886, and it had cost \$1,250,000. Of the measures introduced by the Government, the most novel was the bill for the prevention of cruelty to children, and for their better protection. Hereafter the Children's Aid Societies will be recognized by the State, and their operations will be directed by a paid provincial official. Parents who neglect or ill-treat their offspring may be deprived of them, but will be required to pay for their care by some officially-recognized society or other suitable guardian.

To keep young persons off the streets at night, municipalities are empowered to ring a bell at a suitable hour, at sound of which all children unaccompanied by parents or guardians must seek their homes. This measure is known as the Children's Charter. A very noticeable feature of the session was the pronounced opposition exhibited towards everything that had the appearance of a monopoly or a close corporation. This caused several of the bills introduced by private members to be defeated or withdrawn. The request of the milkmen that they be taxed up to twenty dollars was not entertained, because it was suspected that it was prompted by a desire on the part of the larger dealers to monopolize the business. The embalmers likewise were unsuccessful in their endeavors to give their calling the legislative status of a profession. On the suggestion of the Premier, the architects withdrew their request for more exclusive powers. The proposal of the druggists to confine the patent medicine business to registered pharmacists was abandoned in the face of the rising tide of opposition. A measure to prescribe professional examinations for railway engineers, conductors, and brakemen, was vetoed by the Government.



DR. RYERSON, M.P.P.

Altogether, the session was more satisfactory to the opponents than to the advocates of close corporations. Considerable public interest was taken in three of the debates of the

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session. The discussion of Mr. Marter's bill to prohibit the retail sale of intoxicants caused the galleries to be overtaxed on several occasions. The defeat of the measure on a party division was accompanied by a promise on the part of the Government that



D'ALTON MCCARTHY, M.P.

the question of prohibition would be submitted to a popular vote. This pledge was redeemed. A plebiscite on the manufacture, importation, and sale of liquors was ordered, and was taken at the succeeding municipal elections, with the result that prohibition was carried. The advocates of female suffrage were exceedingly active. The Government, however, took a stand against the claims of the fair sex. Sir Oliver Mowat objected to them because he believed the country is not ripe for the reform asked, and his colleagues opposed them strictly on Scriptural grounds. The system of minority representation in Toronto came in for the usual condemnation from the Conservative side of the House, which was concurred in by the Ministerialists. The Government committed itself to the abolition of the minority principle, and promised the city another representative. Throughout, the session was fruitful of legislation, and it terminated on May 27, from which date, until death created two vacancies in the House, little was heard of local politics.

During November preparations were made for the refilling of the seats in the Legislature for East Lambton and North Bruce, which had become vacant under the deplorable circumstances already referred to. While the arrangements were in progress, it was discovered by the existing parties that

two new organizations had taken the field. One of these was the farmers' association, the Patrons of Industry, and the other an organization the name of which explains its policy—the Protestant Protective Association. The Patrons had a programme covering both Dominion and Local subjects. In the Dominion arena, they called for lower tariff; in the provincial arena, they demanded a change in the mode of appointing sheriffs and registrars, some of them even calling for the election of these officials by popular vote, and the abolition of the system of official remuneration by fees. The Protestant Protective Association, or P.P.A., was a secret society opposed to legislation unduly favorable to Roman Catholics. It was reported of it that its members were sworn to turn Roman Catholics out of office, and even to refuse them private employment. The general opinion was that the two associations were strong, and that if they grew, as they promised to do, they would be disturbing factors, thwarting the calculations of the existing parties. The elections in Lambton and Bruce furnished them an opportunity to show their strength, and they took advantage of it. In North Bruce the Patrons came forward with a candidate, Mr. McNaughton. This gentleman was opposed by a Liberal and a



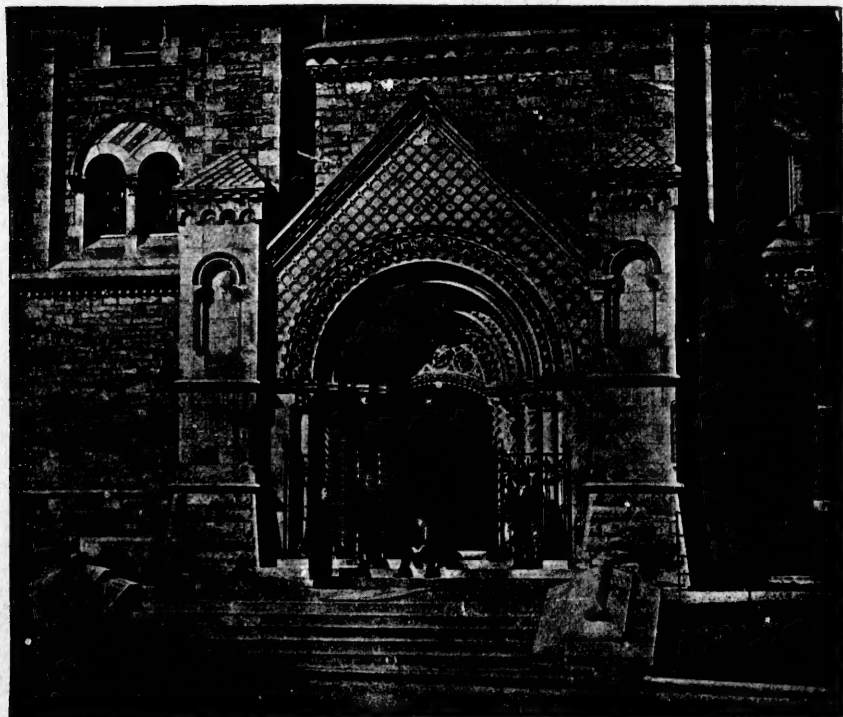
HON. LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR KIRKPATRICK.

Conservative. In East Lambton there ran in opposition to the Ministerial nominee (no Conservative candidate having been chosen) Mr. McCallum, who had the P.P.A. support. The two constituencies had been formerly held by friends of the Government.

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Both, on the eventful December 3, were carried by the candidates of the new associations. In East Lambton Mr. McCallum succeeded by a majority of 406, and in North Bruce Mr. McNaughton won by over 500. The result was startling, and at once the organizations, with their respective programmes, were brought into prominence, and were eagerly canvassed. They were

talked of the more earnestly for the reason that 1894 was to see a general election, and everybody was disposed to speculate touching the influence they would have upon the fortunes of the Government. While the interesting discussion was in progress, the old year was rung out and a new era dawned upon us, the history of which is yet a secret. With the close of 1893 this chapter ends.



DOORWAY, TORONTO UNIVERSITY.

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